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An important step forward toward collectivization was a decision of the Central Committee of the PMR of 18 September 1951 on the creation of collectives and TOZ. This decision combats the grave distortions and deviations from the party line in the construction of socialism in villages by prohibiting coercion and demagogic promises which disregard the free consent of peasants in joining collectives and TOZ. The decision points out that such methods are extremely damaging and alien to the party. The decision of the Central Committee categorically declares that such methods are in direct contradiction to the line and the aims of the party. The decision further warns that any infringement on the principle of free consent in the formation of collectives and TOZ will be severely punished. The socialist transformation of agriculture must be based solely on the profound conviction of the working peasantry of the advantages of collectives.

The decision also combats other abuses and distortions, such as the assumption that the average peasant is a kulak, the error of permitting kulaks to deny that they are kulaks, which facilitates the penetration of kulaks into collectives and TOZ, and the tendency to limit the number of landless peasants or those with very little land to join collectives. The decision also points out the need for economic and organizational strengthening of collectives, for the mechanization of agriculture, and for an increase in the number of activists agitating for the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The decision of the Central Committee of the PMR of 18 September 1951 devotes special attention to TOZ. In TOZ, peasants have the opportunity of seeing the practical advantages of the joint tilling of larger areas of land with mechanized equipment, of becoming accustomed to collective work, and of better realizing the need for the socialist transformation of agriculture. In the course of one year, March 1952 - March 1953, a total of 1,890 TOZ were created with the free consent of peasants. These TOZ have a membership of 93,739 peasant families. In March 1953, peasants submitted 14,100 requests to form TOZ. A total of 1,122 initiative committees acted on these requests.

The successful progress in the socialist transformation of agriculture in Rumania, the strengthening of the alliance between the working and peasant classes, and the collectivization of agriculture prove the correctness of the Rumanian party line in following Leninism and Stalinism. The counterrevolutionary and antistate activities of Vasile and his associates, Anisimov and Teohari Georgescu, caused great difficulties in party agitation in villages. The unmasking and crushing of the rightist deviationists has contributed to the upswing of party activity in villages, which has brought about a number of positive results in the strengthening of economic and organizational conditions, in the further development of existing collectives, and in the creation of new collectives and TOZ.

As a result of the policy toward deviationists, the removal of kulaks who had infiltrated collectives in the guise of poor farmers contributed toward strengthening the faith of peasants in collectives. A conclusive example in this respect is the collective of Smalt, Communist Rumania, where 120 additional peasant families joined the collective after it was unmasked and removed seven kulaks who had penetrated the collective.

The principle of persuasion and the right of refusal of these concepts among peasants account for the success of the party in the socialist transformation of agriculture. The Central Committee of the PMR has often pointed out to party organizations the grave danger of replacing the political policy of persuasion by administrative measures. Even though the party line for the socialist transformation of agriculture is clear, there are still some deviations of party organizations and people's councils who employ coercive methods instead of convincing the peasants to join collectives and TOZ. This is alien

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to the policy of the party. For example, "plans" drawn up in some raions provided for a stipulated number of peasants to be included in new TOZ and collectives. If the plan was not fulfilled within a certain time limit pressure was applied to reach the goal. The following is a typical example of this procedure: on 12 September 1952 the Suceava Regiune Party Committee newspaper, Zorii Noi, published a call by the Falticeni Raion Party Committee for the creation of two collectives and ten TOZ. Among others pledging to set up TOZ, the Suceava Raion Party Committee pledged 14, and the Trusesti Raion Party Committee pledged 12. The Calarasi Raion Committee of the PMR, Bucharest Regiune, set up a plan which called for 7,000 new members to join existing collectives within 12 days, and for the creation of three new collectives. Some persons, such as Ion Popa, former first secretary of Calarasi Raion, and Buteica (fnu) former collector of the raion, made use of anarchic and antagonistic means, in gross violation of the principle of free consent, to fulfill these so-called plans.

The Central Committee of the PMR severely punished all those who applied such methods and energetically advised all party organizations of their duty to follow the party line. No doubt these antagonistic and anarchistic elements were able to practice such methods because of lack of permanent supervision by regiune and raion party committees. Some party organizations which had become bureaucratic and estranged from the masses and had stifled criticism from below were not aware of these brutal acts under their very noses. It is the duty of all party organizations to draw lessons from such grave mistakes and to apply scrupulously the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, and party and government decisions; it is also their duty to unmask without mercy anyone who tries to distort the truth, irrespective of whether the individual belongs to party or state agencies. Party organizations must attract peasants to the socialist transformation only through political persuasion and strict observance of the principle of free consent.

The party severely punishes the members of some party organizations who neglect to press for the socialist transformation of agriculture and leave the transformation to take place spontaneously, by itself. Stalin teaches that the theory of spontaneity in socialist construction is a rotten, anti-Leninist theory. He teaches that it is necessary to create large socialist enterprises -- the state farm and collective type -- in villages as the basis of socialism.

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej stated that indifference to the socialist transformation of agriculture shows that spontaneity would give free course to the development of capitalism and small bourgeoisie. He warned party organizations against such mistakes and tendencies, and urged them to intensify a firm, patient persuasion to win the free consent of peasants for the creation of collectives.

The regiune and raion party committees are instructed to conduct all aspects of the socialist transformation effectively. These committees must educate and convince peasants of the value of Communism. They must consolidate and develop existing collectives and induce peasants to use agricultural mechanization to obtain the largest yield possible. Raion committees should not be satisfied to know only partially what is going on at collectives and TOZ. The committees must have a clear picture of events in the entire raion. How can the Negresti Raion Party Committee, Iasi Regiune, expect to achieve an efficient socialist transformation of agriculture when it does not even know that initiative committees and new collectives have been set up? How can the Dorohoi Raion Party Committee, Suceava Regiune, talk of efficient socialist construction in villages, when peasants were forced to give up their land and join TOZ without a preliminary agitation campaign? For this reason grave infringements were committed in Dorohoi Raion, causing dissatisfaction among peasants. It is evident that these party committees are not following the party line.

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The success of persuading peasants of the necessity of socialist transformation of agriculture depends in the first place on the activity of Communists in the primary party organization of each village. If party members always lead the fight for collectivization and if they apply the party line at all times, their efforts will have positive results. Every member of the party must be convinced that collectivization is the only road to liberation of the peasant from exploitation and need. Every Communist must be a leader in directing the peasant masses along party lines and in selecting the more progressive peasants for initiative committees, as the seed for future collectives.

Initiative committees must include the best Communists and nonparty peasants, and must play an important role in the collectivization of agriculture. Party organizations and individual members must devote special attention to initiative committees, in order to keep them constantly active and to attract the most active peasants to join these committees. In Timisoara Regiune, a large number of initiative committee chairmen and some of the better members of these committees were sent to party schools to raise the level of their political agitation.

Good political agitation and practical examples shown to peasants raised membership in the Santana Collective, Arad Regiune, from 35 families to 422 families by December 1952. Membership in the Racosul-de-Sus Collective, Hungarian Autonomous Regiune, increased from 40 families to 284 families by December 1952.

The decision of the Central Committee of the PMR and the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic regarding the economic consolidation of collectives gave regiune and raion party committees and the primary party organizations of collectives an opportunity to analyze and criticize their activities since 1949, when the first collectives were formed.

The primary party organizations applied the above decision and intensified educational agitation among collectivists for the strict observance of the model statute. They sharply criticized collectivists who did not bring their entire livestock and real estate into the collective, as provided for by the model statute. While positive results have been obtained, some basic organizations have shown leniency toward peasants who disregarded the model statute and caused damage to collective farm property through negligence. Primary party organizations must watch every step in the development of collectives, in the increase of public property, and in the raising of the material and cultural level of each collectivist.

In the last 2 years, collectives have been able to grow vegetables and to raise cows, poultry, hogs, bees, and fish. For example, the collective in Palazul-Mare Commune, Constanta Regiune, set up a hog farm, a cattle farm, a poultry farm, and a vegetable garden. These new farms produced an income of 215,000 lei in 1952. Consequently, the collective was able to considerably exceed its production plan.

The strengthening and development of collectives and the attraction of more and more peasants to socialism are being achieved despite the efforts of kulaks who are trying to isolate collectivists from individual peasants and to minimize the advantages of collectives. For example, hostile elements spread a false rumor among collectivists of the Visani Collective, Galati Regiune, that the admission of large numbers of peasants into the collective would cause the income of the initial 40 members of the collective to drop. The local primary party organization was not aware of this hostile scheming to prevent collectivists from accepting other peasants of the village into the collective. The Filimon Sarbu Raion Committee showed an objectionable indifference to the activity of

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the collective and the primary party organization. It neither analyzed nor supported the activity of the collective. Consequently, not one peasant was attracted to the collective for more than a year. When the primary party organization learned of this situation, the membership of the collective doubled in only a few months. Primary party organizations which curb the enthusiasm of peasants for collectivization help the class enemy, who tries to hamper the progress of collectivization through every means in his power.

Experience teaches that Communist Party members and raion committees must make every effort to bring collectivists and individual peasants together and to fight the bad influence of kulaks who are the enemies of the peasant. This type of agitation is an important factor in the socialist transformation of agriculture. The primary party organization must carry on agitation to inform independent peasants of the excellent results obtained at collectives. Galati, Timisoara, and Barlad regiunes organized visits to collectives of individual peasants to see the results for themselves. Large numbers of individual peasants were invited to openings of new collectives, and the enthusiasm generated during the festivities was then exploited to persuade peasants to join collectives. Hundreds of peasants from neighboring villages were invited to attend the distribution of income at the Tarzii Commune collective. Consequently, these regiune committees had good results in convincing individual peasants to join collectives.

Agitators must work with all persuasive means at their disposal to warn peasants against the bad influence of kulaks. The new statutes for collectives and TOZ must be popularized not only among collectives and TOZ, but also among the millions of individual peasants. If every peasant has a thorough knowledge of these statutes, he will want to join collectives for his own and his family's happiness and welfare.

Agitators must be selected carefully from among the best party members and other peasants devoted to the cause of the party. MTS tractor operators should be used as agitators. MTS primary party organizations should train every tractor operator to be an ardent agitator. MTS in general are a powerful incentive for collectivization, because they work in the fields of the peasantry. Newspapers and wall posters must also be used for political agitation. Agitators must train the peasants to read the regiune and raion newspapers. Village school teachers also have an important role in this drive. Besides teaching peasants to read and write, the teacher must urge peasants to read about collectives, to read pamphlets about mechanized agriculture and mechanized equipment, and to join cultural clubs and attend educational motion pictures.

Women workers in villages must also be given attention and training. Some party organizations have been able to enroll large numbers of women for active agitation duty. Youth, too, must be educated and encouraged, since the enthusiasm of youth will be transmitted to the older population.

Party organizations must be constantly preoccupied with the improvement of the political and ideological level of Communists, and must make every party member an untiring fighter for the application of the party line. This activity must be closely related to the duties of socialist transformation of agriculture. However, some raion committees and party organizations do not pay attention to the development of party study and do not select agitators carefully. Thus, for a long time hostile elements acted as agitators for primary party organizations in Urziceni Raion, although in reality they spread counterrevolutionary ideas.

Lectures and lessons must be given in such manner as to be easily understood and absorbed by party members, so that they can lead the fight for the application of the political party line, as well as unmask and crush any attempts of the class enemy to sabotage progress.

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People's councils play an important role in the building of socialism in villages. The members of these councils are closely connected with the masses. The executive committees of raion people's councils must plan and organize labor at collectives and create new collectives. They must not wait for the socialist transformation to accomplish itself, as is the case at the Braila and Ploesti raion people's councils.

Regiune and raion people's councils are to be blamed for a series of distortions of the party line and of the policy of the state in the socialist transformation of agriculture. This proves that there are serious shortcomings in the management of party organizations. The bureaucratism still prevalent in some people's councils must be eradicated.

The decision of the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the PMR to convoke a congress of leaders of collectives has been an important stimulus for the intensification of mass agitation for the socialization of agriculture. Discussions that took place in villages concerning the new model statutes and the election of delegates to the congress also offered an incentive. Primary party organizations in villages must inform collectives, TOZ, MTS, and the great masses of peasants of the provisions of model statutes. Primary party organizations must be supported and strengthened for this purpose. Opportunists and deviationists must be cleansed from the ranks. For example, an enemy who infiltrated as the secretary of the primary party organization of Mogosesti Commune, Pascani Raion, prevented the creation of a collective in that commune for a long time. He reported to the organization committee that peasants were not informed and ranted against class enemies, but actually he carried on counterrevolutionary activities which prevented the creation of a collective. Finally, an honest organization member unmasked him and he was thrown out of the party.

Weak but honest elements in villages should be sought out and indoctrinated to become ardent fighters for the party. Peasants without land, or peasants with only small parcels of land, should be selected as party members because they will fight with enthusiasm for collectivization. This procedure has not always been enforced; often, raion committees have appointed wavering and cowardly elements to important posts.

Some raion committees do not educate the secretaries of primary party organizations in villages after elections. The leaders of primary organizations at collectives, TOZ, MTS, and whole villages must be well prepared politically and professionally to render proper services to the party.

The development of internal party democracy and primary party organizations in villages depends on the support given by raion committees. The larger the number of people attending discussions of problems that confront collectives, TOZ, and MTS, the greater becomes the authority of the primary party organization and the greater its success as political leader.

Criticism and self-criticism should be encouraged. Regiune and raion committees should give every incentive and support to the secretaries of primary party organizations to criticize shortcomings in villages freely and thoroughly. The regiune and raion party committees will achieve increasing success in the socialist transformation of agriculture if they fight to increase the activity of Primary party organizations, the qualifications of leaders in the organization, and the education of party members to apply the political party line.

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